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THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

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Aldermanic Wards: The Effects of Minority Power & Representation

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1991 Reapportionment of Chicago's Fifty Aldermanic Wards:  
The Effects of Minority Power and Representation

by

Lauren M. Grabowski

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Thesis

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## Foreword:

The United States is a democracy governed by the people. It is the strongest, most libertarian of its kind in the world. As citizens, we play a part in making America what it is today. Under the Constitution, we possess the right to vote. This right enables each and every citizen the right to participate; to have a voice in American society. At election time, our votes choose those individuals that best represent our interests. But, the average white voter need not worry about his or her interests in the greater society. This is because the majority of the political power structure is made up of whites.

The Civil Rights Movement was determined to change this power relationship and consequently fought for the rights and equality of African-American's. Compared to two hundred years ago, African-American's have made terrific strides in political and structural equality. However, since the 1960's, other ethnic minorities have arrived on the political scene and have sought the same acceptance. This has not only suppressed black interests, but it has also added to the collective numbers of those unsatisfied with our government. One of the strongest implications of a white dominant society is that it serves as a dichotomizing force amongst minorities and the general population.

This is perhaps most vivid in an urban area such as Chicago. Politics here, are divided along racial and ethnic lines, making

it one of the most segregated cities in the world. One of the most often heard complaints from Chicago's minority groups is that their political interests are not accounted for within the local government. They feel unrepresented, under-represented and misrepresented by those that are supposed to serve their interests. How can this happen in America, 'home of the free and the brave'?

The answer involves many reasons. But, perhaps the most important, is that whites do not want to lose the power which they have gained since this country's beginnings. If government was to be completely representative according to population, then there would be many more African-American's, Hispanics, and Asians in political offices then there are at present. In the past, due to the lack of minority representation at every level of government, policies were created to benefit the white majority.

However, as minority populations continue to increase, the political structures of this country will transform before our very eyes. This is, of course, contingent upon the mobilization of minorities and the forming of coalitions based on common interests. Many of these common interests have concentrated on the misrepresentation of minorities, but have transformed from a common struggle into retaliatory actions. The 1992 Los Angeles riots are a prime example of a minority revolution.

Americans are tired of being forgotten and misrepresented by the very government which was instituted for their protection.

Minorities in cities such as Chicago have sought to challenge those structures which have impeded their participation. And, as a result, have acquired city council seats and access to political empowerment.

For decades, Chicago's politics have been separated according to ethnic and racial differences. In a city where half of the population is white, and the other half is predominantly black, why are there only twenty majority-black wards and twenty-three majority white wards? The 1990 Census figures show that there are 1,087,711 African-American's in the City of Chicago as opposed to 1,263,524 whites. Today there is an obvious discrepancy in minority representation, and its cause is the 1980 Chicago reapportionment map because the 1980 map sets the boundaries to which the 1990 map adheres. This map was created under the mayoralty of Jane Byrne, a left-over crone of Chicago's infamous political machine. The 1980 map and the Byrne administration will be further explored later in this research. Upcoming pages will also illustrate the representative inequalities created by the 1980 map which have consequently effected the 1990 remap.

Every ten years, political parties engage in legislative redistricting, whereby political officials reapportion city wards, state and local districts. But, this one occurs after U.S. citizens participate in the Federal Census (also decennial). This provides the government with demographic information, so that it can accurately delve the U.S. population into equal and

representative proportions, thus creating U.S. Congressional seats. Likewise, the separate fifty states follow this lead, and break their respective populations into state representative and senatorial districts. Similarly, the nation's cities partake in this legislative process, by squeezing the members of its population into separate aldermanic or council wards.

In Chicago, there are fifty aldermanic wards. Each neighborhood represents individual ethnic or racial majorities. But, every ten years, these neighborhood characteristics change according to population increases. These changes, are responsible for setting the configurations of each ward, and therefore determine the immediate and future political structures of the city. Oftentimes, these seemingly simple determinates are the cause of minority misrepresentation. Instead of protecting minority views and interests, reapportionment has served to restrain them. These reapportionment efforts are a direct cause of Chicago's racial and ethnic barriers, and a contributing source in the city's political foundation.

The initial interest in representative equality in urban areas stems from a guest lecture by Dr. Michael Preston of the University of Southern California. He discussed the racial and ethnic troubles of Los Angeles which lead, in part, to the riots there in the spring of 1991. He spoke of the enduring tensions between minorities fighting for their "turf" in urban areas. As Hispanic and African-American populations continue to expand, the pressure amongst minorities for political representation within



municipal government will increase, as well.

Freston cited the State of Illinois as one of the largest growth areas of the Hispanic population, second only to the State of California. If Illinois is second to change, then so is the City of Chicago. As populations continue to grow and minorities realize the potential political influence of their collective numbers, the political framework of Chicago as we know it, will change. Meaning that the dominant white power figure which has present control over Chicago, will change to accommodate minority interests. For, despite all of the struggles and subordination which minorities have endured, they have maintained a political presence and have continuously fought to gain more ground in Chicago politics. Thus, the composition of minority political power and representation will increase.

In a democratic society, where the objective is to ensure the proper representation of everyone, this author views Chicago's minority populations as short-changed. This thesis serves as an attempt to objectively analyze how the struggle for minority political representation and empowerment in the City of Chicago can be affected by the process of redistricting.

Why does Chicago's redistricting process serve to undermine minority interests, when its overall purpose is to equalize the struggle for political representation? How can this process be truly fair and equal when both major political parties seek to preserve the dominance of their own candidates in their own wards? Furthermore, how can these wards be "compact, contiguous

and substantially equal," according to the State of Illinois statutes, when the shapes of some ward boundaries appear to be drawn solely for the purpose of saving aldermen's job?

Due to the revolutionary 1982 amendments of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, minorities must now be given their share of the political pie. The original Voting Rights Act of 1965 sought to reduce the discrimination against black voters, but has since been amended to include other minorities and the concern for proper representation and equality.

One of the goals of this research has been to find out what forces have come together in order to produce a fair and equally representative map. Specifically, how have increases in minority populations affected representation over time? Secondly, what criteria do map architects and political parties adhere to in the creation of their maps? Third, why now? What factors have become important enough that minority forces have rejected the 1991 map? Fourth, what aspects of the redistricting process restrict minority representation and political empowerment? And finally, what, if anything, can be done to change the inadequate process?

In order to find answers to these questions, I have conducted several interviews with those directly involved in the 1991 redistricting process, and with certain individuals who have been directly affected by its implications. I have also taken a sociological approach to this research by consulting the Chicago Board of Elections and 1990 Census data to review any extenuating



circumstances which could have changed the outcome of the 1992 remap decision. In addition, I have read several books by experts in public policy and minority politics, law journals, and Chicago-area newspaper articles.

By giving a brief chronology on Chicago politics and the roles that ethnic and racial groups have played in the formation of the city's political history, we can comprehend why minority groups are dissatisfied with the 1992 map configurations and the type of racial or ethnic representation which characterizes each ward.

The following pages will be an attempt to address these questions and draw implications on the future of minority politics in the City of Chicago. It is my belief that in analyzing a minority position on any political issue, one can begin to understand the causes for their action. In this particular case, a dissection of the reapportionment process extracts reasons for minority dissatisfaction with the reapportionment process and the misrepresentation which results from it. This paper will argue for the equal representation of all people: African-American's, Hispanics, Asians, and Whites, by citing Chicago's politically segregated history, and using it as an explanation of why there is no minority balance in City Hall. It is my hope that this research provides an accurate account of how minorities are misrepresented by the 1992 remap, and how the reapportionment process serves to further the racially polarized nature of Chicago politics.

### Chicago, 1980 to 1990: A Decade of Struggle

There is a phenomenon which occurs in the State of Illinois every ten years after a Census, in which the legislators reapportion wards and legislative boundaries in order to form more perfect configurations according to population size and the concentration of minorities. Redistricting is not a process unique to Illinois. It is a national occurrence which potentially affects everyone within the United States. Next to an election, redistricting is perhaps the most important process for politicians and political parties. Reapportionment creates new districts, or in Chicago's case, aldermanic wards for those shifting populations within the city's boundaries. These geographic political properties become the politician's stage for the ensuing decade.

The differences between redistricting and reapportionment are minimal. Reapportionment refers to the division of geographic areas according to population data. Whereas, redistricting divides areas into legislative districts, creating the political boundaries for U.S. Representatives as well as State Senators. For the purpose of this research, I have used the two terms interchangeably. Chicago's city wards are "districts" to the extent that one ward's boundaries are different from another. These divisions are proportional and based on population

Ward configurations are important to aldermen because it determines their immediate political careers. Aldermen's jobs are in jeopardy when minorities challenge a remap. If the court rules for a special election or for the drawing of a new map, then it would result in a greater possibility for a minority representative to be elected. Boundaries would be drawn to include the larger concentration of a minority population, which would then pursue the election of a representative of "their own." However, if there are no complaints against the map configurations, an alderman is assured of stable boundary lines, from which he or she may be re-elected.

Some of the following information does not directly relate to the reapportionment process. However, the City's governmental structure at particular times in recent history is pertinent to the understanding of the political representation and power which minorities have had in the past. The most recent redistricting effort has resulted in court battles which have "gotten things done" for its citizens, but it has also served to split the loyalties of many ethnic and racial groups.

In order to comprehend the implications of the 1991 ward remap, we must first look at the 1980 redistricting process. It too, was a controversial map, laden with "inequitable" configurations. However, it is also reflective of the political agenda. It seems that fair racial and

ethnic representation was not high upon the Mayor's list of political priorities.

In 1979, the citizens of Chicago elected its first female Mayor, Jane Byrne. Many critics, including William Grimshaw, author of Bitter Fruit, claims that the Byrne Administration was simply part of the left-over product of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley's infamous machine. As a candidate, she appealed to those voters which were discounted by the "machine." She gained support from many sides because she claimed to be against the typical patronage schemes which were rampant within Daley's machine. Much of her support came from the black wards, the "liberal" lakefront, and the ethnic Northwest Side (Grimshaw, p.145).

However, as Mayor, she turned her back to many of those which had supported her, namely the black wards. These betrayed, for the most part, black voters, were infuriated. They had counted on having an important role in the governing of the city. But, Byrne had no intentions of accommodating African-American interests. Instead, she sought to restrain them, as was exemplified by the 1981 remap (Grimshaw, p.25). It is often common under machine-style politics to restrain those forces which contradict the interests of the power elite. Machines serve to further the interests of those in power, but it does not extend to those outside of its patronage circle.

The 1981 reapportionment effort took place under the

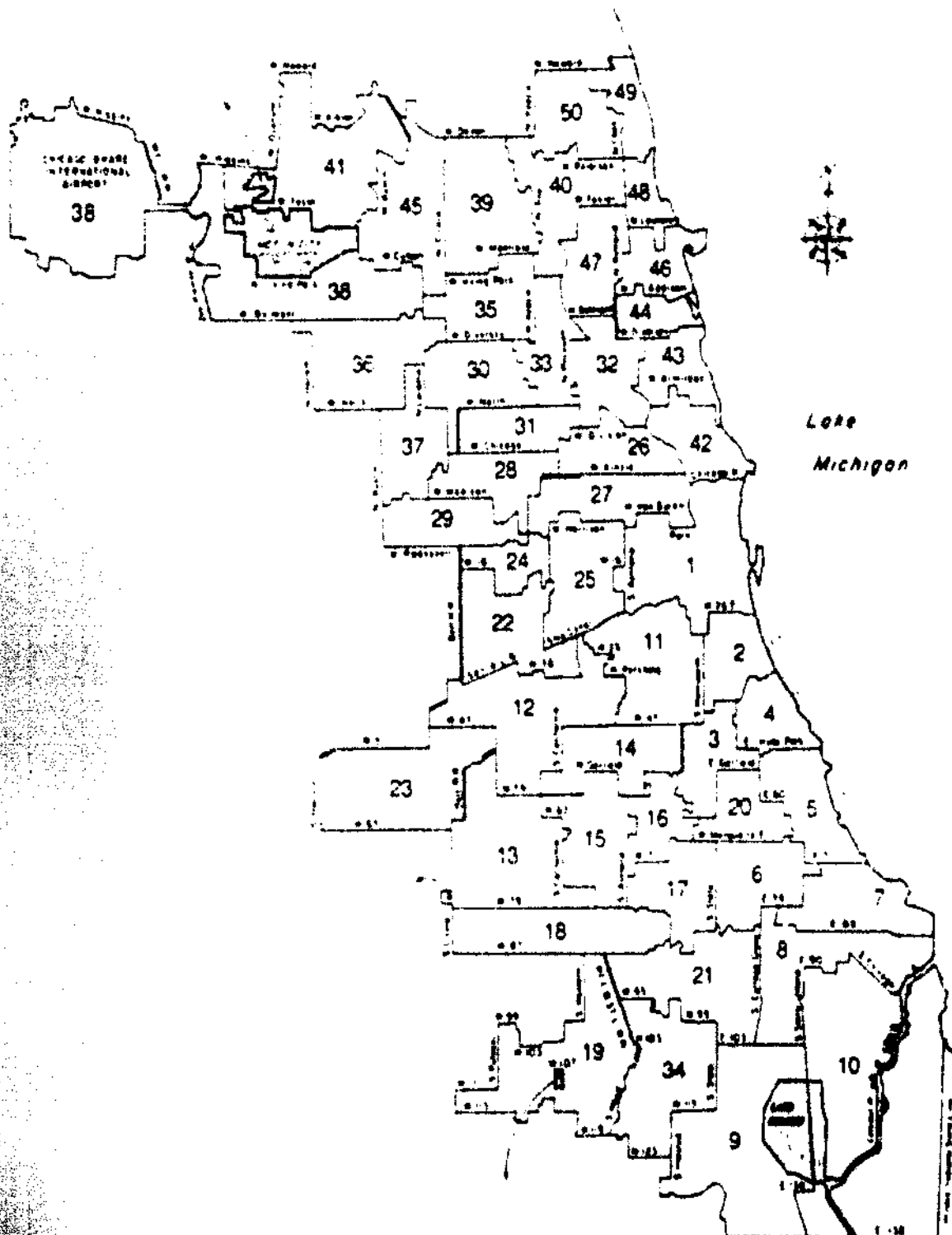
mayoralty of Jane Byrne. Under the auspices of the City Council at that time, the newly created map deleted African-American majorities in three wards, and Hispanic majorities in four wards. Under the 1970 map, the African-American population held a majority in fifteen wards.

However, by the time the 1980 Census came around, African-American's held a majority in nineteen wards according to the 1970 map configurations, plus a 49.3% plurality in one other ward. Hispanics had no majority or representation in any ward. However, by 1980, the Hispanic population had grown to include four majority Hispanic wards, plus two plurality wards. In 1980, under the 1970 map, the white majority was concentrated in twenty-two wards, with a plurality in two additional wards. The map also allowed for five wards with no majority (Kasson, p.677). Please see Exhibit One and Two, page 12 & 13.

The Hispanic community was then split into six predominantly Hispanic wards. This is ironic, because population figures showed an increase in their respective numbers. Consequently, the black and Hispanic communities cried discrimination, and challenged the 1981 remap in court. In purpose of examining the 1970 and 1980 map, was to illustrate how easily minorities can be exploited by those in control of the remap process.

Exhibit One

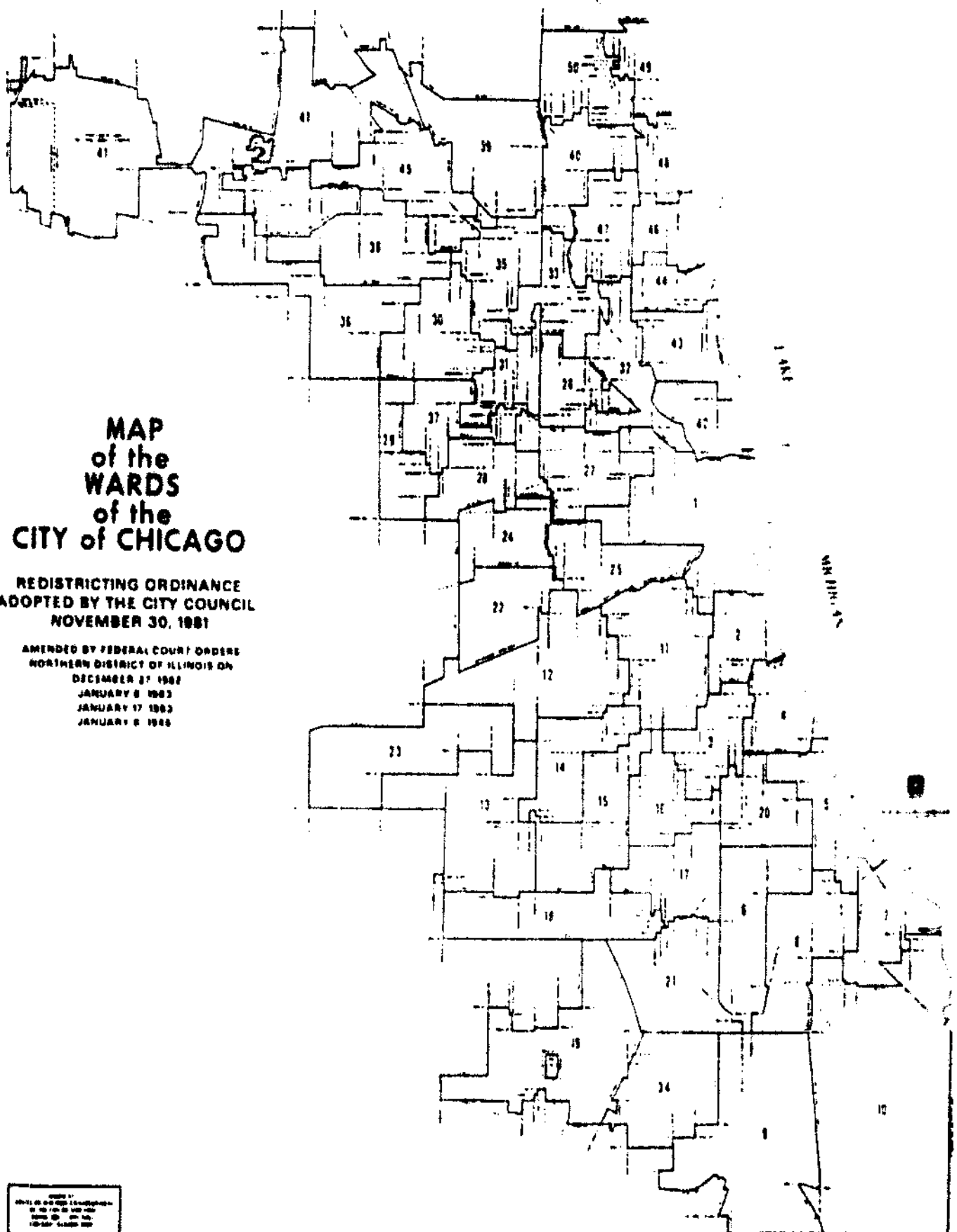
Taken from Bitter Fruit, p.121



1970 ward map of the City of Chicago



Exhibit Two.  
The 1986 Chicago Board of Elections Map.



This 1981 remap was drawn in part by then alderman Tom Keane. Incidentally, Mr. Keane was also Richard J. Daley's floor leader. According to David Fremon, author of Chicago Politics: Ward by Ward, this map kept the number of black majority wards at seventeen, the same number of wards under the 1970 map. According to population data, blacks should have been allotted nineteen wards in which they would have constituted a majority (Fremon, p.9).

Perhaps under Richard J. Daley's machine, this unrepresentative bias would have been accepted, but this time, the two minorities pursued litigation. In the summer of 1982, several minority groups filed suit, including many Hispanic and African-American constituents. They claimed that the new map violated the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, as amended in 1982. In December, 1982, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas McMillan ordered the drawing of a new map, ruling that the one in question was discriminatory. Still unsatisfied, the minorities appealed to a higher voice, the Seventh Court of Appeals, claiming that the new map did not effectively remedy the situation (Kasson, p.678).

In May, 1984, a ruling was handed down, saying that the Keane map still did not cure the situation because it did not completely eliminate minority voting discrimination caused by the Council's map. A year later, the Supreme Court declined to hear the case, and instead referred it back to the District level to create new configurations for the ward

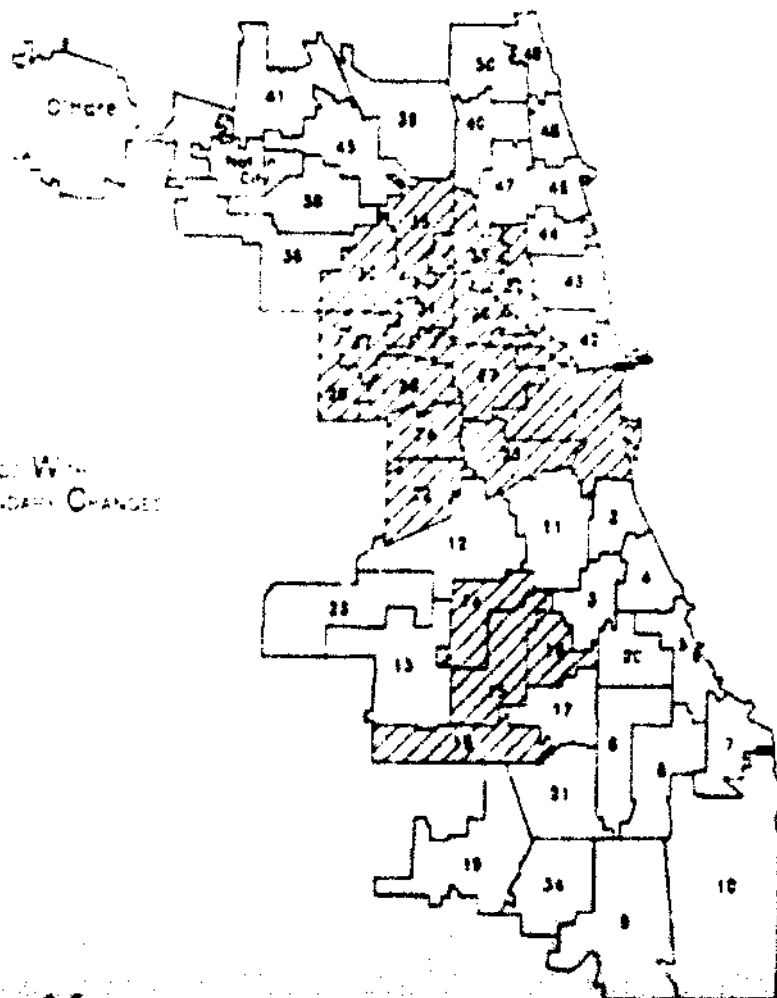
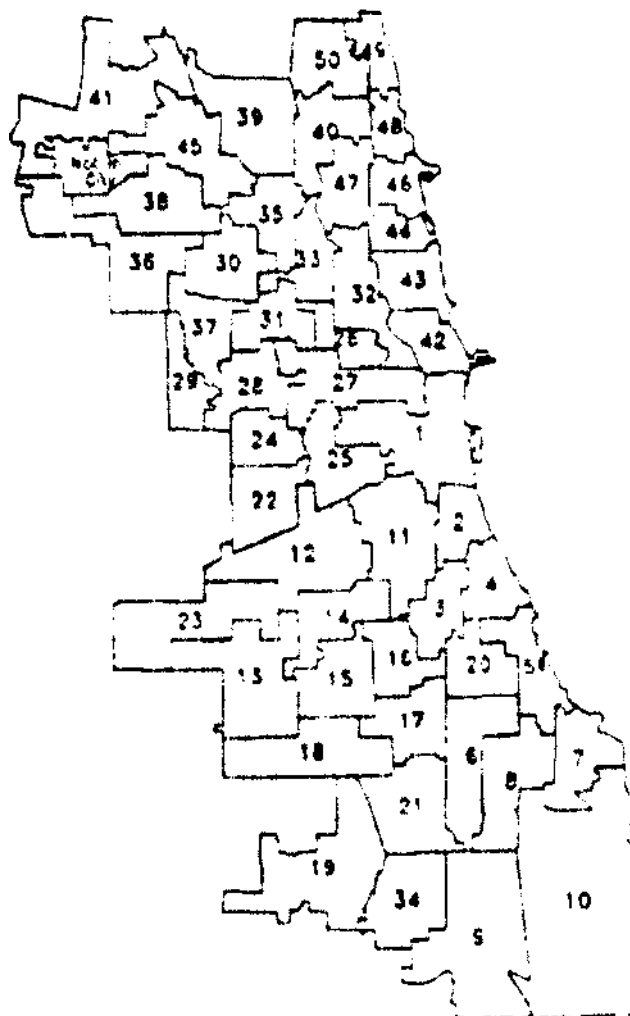
boundaries. On 27 December, 1985, the district court approved a settlement created between the black and Hispanic communities (Fremon, p.9-10).

This new map created four supermajority wards in favor of the Hispanic community. In addition, seven wards: the 15th, and 18th on the Southwest side, the 37th on the West side, the 22nd and 25th on the Near Southwest side, and the 26th and 31st on the Near Northwest side, were redrawn to provide for African-American or Hispanic majorities, depending on the dominant minority group in each ward (ibid., p.9-10). Please see Exhibit Three, page 16.

In the midst of these court battles over representation and equality, the African-American, Hispanic, and white "liberal" lakefronters still enraged by the Byrne years of betrayal, began to form the loose organizations of a coalition. In order to show the intensity of their discontent for Mayor Byrne, the black communities staged a boycott of ChicagoFest. ChicagoFest is an annual Mayorally supported public picnic in Grant Park. The African-American community's protest was somewhat successful, in that it resulted in negative revenues for the businesses participating in the gala (Grimshaw, p.162). This event was supposed to damage the City's politician's. Yet, in essence, it appears to have made victims out of the wrong people: Chicago's businesses.

Exhibit Three:  
Taken from Chicago Politics: 1990, p.5.

### CHICAGO WARDS, 1983 & 1986 BOUNDARIES



WARD WITH  
BOUNDARY CHANGES

The ChicagoFest act of protest was followed by massive voter registration drives, aimed at registering low-income African-American's. The impact that this had for the future of Chicago politics was astounding. The drives alone resulted in the registration of 125, 0 African-American voters. This mobilization of minority voters also helped in convincing Harold Washington to run for Mayor.

The 1983 race for Mayor between incumbent Jane Byrne and Black political messiah, Harold Washington, gives the clearest representation of the racially polarizing elements of Chicago politics. This election exemplifies the voting trends which have characterized elections in the past. For example, African-American's tend to vote for African-American's, whites tend to vote for whites, and given the chance, Hispanics have voted for one of their own. Otherwise, the Hispanic community tends to split their vote. According to Juan Andrade, Director of Midwest Northeast Voter Registration, "Hispanics are realizing that we are the wild card in a given election...whites can't keep what they have and blacks can't get what they want without us" (Galvan, May, 1992, p.33).

This election was no exception. According to *Chicago Politics: 1990*, Harold Washington accounted for about 79.7% of the African-American vote, 12.7% of the white vote, and 6.8% of the Hispanic vote out of a total 666,911 votes in the 1983 General Election (p.53). Without a doubt, Harold

Washington was elected by the African-American community, but he also created a voting coalition comprised of Hispanics, and a small percentage of "liberal whites," which boosted his support as well. Byrne was out.

"In" was Harold Washington, the City of Chicago's first Mayor of African-American heritage. The significance of his election symbolized a tremendous victory for African-American's, Hispanics and other minority voters. The election of a black mayor opened up possibilities to minorities that were not available under previous administrations. He promised an agenda of "fair and open government," offering political empowerment and representation to the "have-nots," who were neglected by Mayor Byrne and left behind in the dust of the "white flight." This refers to the urban phenomenon of the mass exodus of middle-class whites from the cities to the suburbs (Kweit, p.27). The cities were then left with expanding populations of ethnic and racial minorities, and lower class whites. This is an important idea because it provided the impetus for a change in the hands of power.

The white upper hand continues to try and prevent this transformation. Despite this, minorities continue to push for equal representation and empowerment, causing the political struggles which have plagued Chicago for years.

According to *Chicago Politics: 1990*, in just over three decades, the voting age population of Chicago has changed



from that of a prevailing white majority to one of more balance between whites and minorities (CUL/NIU, p.53). While the numbers of minority populations escalate, their quest for political power and representation should increase as well. In Chicago, for example, the population has decreased from 3 million in 1960, to 2.8 million in 1990. Non-minority percentages have decreased, as well, from 41% to 38%. All of this, as the older political factions attempt to deny the City's inevitable transformation (Galvan, March, 1992, p.33).

It wasn't until Mayor Washington's Administration that the first Hispanic wards were created and large numbers of African-Americans began to believe in a system that would work to their advantage. Under Mayor Jane Byrne, the likelihood of this happening would have been nil. Of course, for many whites throughout the city, the election of Harold Washington as Mayor was the embodiment of their worst nightmares come true.

#### Timeline of Political Events: 1982-1990

- \*August, 1982 African American Voter Registration drives begin
- \*5 October, 1982 Voter Registration drives end
- \*April, 1983 Harold Washington is victorious in General Election for Mayor
- \*December, 1986 Federal District court orders special aldermanic elections in seven of the city's wards
- \*March, 1986 Special Aldermanic elections decided in five wards
- \*April, 1986 Special Aldermanic Elections in the 15th and 26th wards give Washington control of City Council with tie-breaking vote.
- \*April, 1987 Washington again wins election for second term as Mayor
- \*November, 1987 Mayor Washington dies

\*December, 1987 Eugene Sawyer chosen as Acting Mayor  
\*February, 1989 Richard M. Daley wins Special General  
Election for new Mayor

Washington's term was synonymous with council feuds, mostly because the City Council consisted of 29 anti-Washington members and only 11 Washington supporters. The 1981 court-ordered special elections created a Washington majority Council, giving evidence to an unfair and inequitable representation by the 1981 reapportionment map. This prevented Chicago voters from having any appropriate impact in public decisions within the City Council for three years. As Tracy Kasson writes in a *Loyola Law Journal* article, "this situation demonstrates that any judicial remedy will have a delayed effect, ... voters may be powerless [in] prevent[ing] several years of illegitimate legislation," (p.687). These effects are largely due to gerrymandered districts resulting from reapportionment.

According to an article in the *Florida Bar Journal* by George Waas and Mitchell Franks, "gerrymandering is the arbitrary arrangement of [ward] boundaries that gives undue advantage to one group over another" (Waas, et al., p. 22). The idea behind gerrymandering is quite simple. By using demographics and geographic voting age population data, map makers can translate these seemingly meaningless numbers into City Council seats for the individual party members.

According to a *Harvard Journal* article, this usually

involves two methods: "splitting" and "packing votes."

"Splitting" refers to the destruction of voting strength concentrations. For example, a map may be drawn so that clusters of votes are split amongst wards. This is otherwise known as voting dilution. This in turn, effects the outcome of the election because the minorities are scattered so that no majority (in any of the surrounding wards) can be formed (Harvard, p.956).

"Packing" accomplishes the same effect, only in reverse. Instead of diluting votes, map makers concentrate votes within a few wards. While this will guarantee a victory for these particular ward seats, it may not allow for any representation in other wards (Harvard, p.956).

In April, 1987, Mayor Harold Washington defeated the well-known oppositon candidate's, Ed Vrdolyak and Donald Haider, in the race for Mayor, with 54% of the vote (CUL/NIU,p.21) This equates to 600,252 votes of the total 1,116,344 (CUL/NIU, p.45). Washington again won this election due to the concentration of the black vote which accounted for nearly 99% of the total number of African-American registered voters (ibid, p.44). The consolidation of Mayor Washington's coalition may have helped him pass legislation more easily within the City Council, but the coalition of minority and white liberal voters was not maintained after his sudden death in November, 1987.

According to William Grimshaw, author of Bitter Fruit,

"[Mayor] Washington formed the most comprehensive reform coalition in the city's history," one which has not been replicated since (p. 149). Washington's coalition for "fair and open" government consisted of those white, liberal lakefronters who felt cheated by pre-Washington administrations, plus several blacks and Hispanics who sought change in the way their interests were represented.

After Washington's death, much of the contentment which was felt by the African-American community was shattered. Black loyalists, which had created the original Washington Party, had chosen Alderman Timothy Evans as their choice for Acting Mayor. Simultaneously, the "correct" choice, based on seniority and political service was Alderman Eugene Sawyer. Other Aldermen which had thrown their hats into the ring were: Richard Mell, Larry Bloom, Terry Gabinski, Ed Vrdolyak, and Ed Burke. Sawyer, although not the choice of the African-American voters, did appear to be the ideal compromise in the eyes of the left-over machine. Sawyer was declared the winner with the necessary 29 votes (Grimshaw, p. 198).

Regardless, by the time the 1989 election had rolled around, it became evident to many voters that Sawyer could not live up to the legacy which Washington had left behind. Part of this trouble was caused by Alderman Timothy Evans, who continuously challenged Sawyer as an illegitimate Mayor, and consequently split the loyalty of the black voters (ibid,

In the vote for the Democratic nominee for the Special Primary Election in February, 1989, Sawyer received 97% of the African American vote and less than 10% of the white vote. The Hispanic vote was fairly well split between the two candidates. But, this Special Primary also serves to illustrate the racial lines which Chicago elections have been drawn upon. Daley, was a white candidate with no experience in a municipal government job. Yet, he received nearly 90% of the white vote (CUL/NIU, p.51).

Similarly, Sawyer, an African-American, maintained a near majority amongst the black voters. The two candidates nearly split the Hispanic vote, at about 50% each. These data lend even more credence to past voting trends. Whites tend to vote white, blacks vote black, and Hispanics generally split their vote because one of their own is not included in the campaign.

The Special General Election of April, 1989, pitted Democrat Richard M. Daley against the Washington party's Timothy Evans, and the Republican's Ed Vrdolyak. Similar to the Special Primary Election in February, Daley attracted 93% of the white vote, 3.8% of the black vote, and 2.5% of the Hispanic votes, according to the data given in *Chicago Politics:1990* (CUL/NIU, p.51). The Washington coalition which sought to give the African-American community an advantage in Chicago city politics was denied a mayoral

Victory.

### Summary

The tumultuous decade between 1980 and 1990 was the outcome of several years' worth of minority struggle for representation in Chicago. Even though the strong, white upper hand has sought to prevent this power transfer, the minority racial and ethnic groups sought political power and better representation of their particular interests. The historical chronology of political events is important to this research because it serves as an anchor, to which we can understand current political events.

The Byrne Administration inherited the residue of Mayor Richard J. Daley's machine. In an effort to continue this legacy, Byrne sought to restrain minority interests and further those of the dominant whites. In contrast, Mayor Eugene Sawyer attempted to continue Harold Washington's "fair and open" policies, aimed at integrating African-American's and minority ethnics into Chicago's political scene.

The differences between the different mayoral elections and administrations are racial in nature. Each candidate, whether white or black, has been elected by those majority voters with similar backgrounds. This, of course is true only if we include those liberal independent voters as the exception. Regardless, all of these factors contribute to the racially polarized and traditionally "white" power



structure within Chicago politics.

Daley, Part Two and the 1991 Remap:

When Richard M. Daley replaced Eugene Sawyer as Mayor of the City of Chicago, a list of political obstacles stared him back in the face. Among them was the 1990 Census and the subsequent process of reapportionment, which delves the city's populations into fifty contiguous wards every ten years. Reapportionment is extremely important to both political party and politician, because its implications set the stage for a decade's worth of political activities. It is also important to the voter because it determines who their city alderman will be, and the label (black, white, Hispanic, etc.) each community receives according to its racial and ethnic characteristics.

The most recent redistricting effort in Chicago was conducted in 1991, after the 1990 Federal Census. Consequently, this is the same year that Mayor Richard M. Daley was re-elected to a new term of office. The boundary lines of reapportionment are decided by the members of the City Council. In the case of the 1991 redistricting effort, they failed to arrive at a compromise.

According to an article by Robert Davis in the 13 May, 1992 edition of the *Chicago Tribune*, the set deadline for the reapportionment of the Chicago wards was 1 December, 1991. But, because the City Council could not reach a compromise on what constituted a "fair and equitable" map, the responsibility of creating a new, more favorable map was

turned over to the voters. The referendum took place on 17 March, 1992 referendum (Davis, p.6).

In Chicago's reapportionment, the most important criterion, by which the mapmakers must adhere, are those outlined by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In any reapportioning effort, the initial step is to establish a population figure for each of the fifty wards. To arrive at this, mapmakers divide Chicago's total population by the number of aldermanic wards (fifty). Using this knowledge and the 1990 Census data, the average number of residents per ward is close to 55,700 per ward. Please see Exhibit Four, page 28.

The second step is then to calculate any derivations on ideal wards populations. However, it is extremely important to assure that these derivations do not detract from the population's equality. For example, if the concentration of a black ward becomes mixed with an increasing Hispanic population, the map must make adjustments for that increase. Map makers can either draw configurations, so as to include the Hispanic population in their own ward or divide the original, black-Hispanic ward into separate ward areas, where neither group would constitute a majority.

All of the numerical information that is necessary for reapportionment purposes is provided for by the 1990 Census data. It provides first, the total population which is broken down into various ethnic and minority groups; second,

the amount of each population over the age of eighteen, and, three, concentration statistics for geographical units, census tracts, and county and township boundaries (Theidm., p.4).

Exhibit Three:

Selected General Population Statistics, according to  
1990 Census data.

AREA	TOTAL POPULATION	WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC of any race	UNDER 18
STATE	11,143,646	8,754,975 (78.3%)	1,640,394 (14.7%)	890,180 (7.9%)	3,237,687 (29%)
COOK COUNTY	5,105,067 (45.8%)	3,204,947 (62.7%)	1,317,147 (25.8%)	694,194 (13.5%)	1,283,045 (25%)
CHICAGO	2,783,726 (24.9%)	1,263,524 (45.3%)	1,087,711 (39%)	545,852 (19.6%)	722,704 (25.9%)
AREA	TOTAL NATIVES		BORN IN STATE OF RESIDENCE		
COOK COUNTY	4,387,750		74.9		
CHICAGO	2,314,539		72.0		

Chicago City Council Aldermen

ALDERMEN

Theodore Mazola  
Madeline Haithcock  
Dorothy Tillman  
Toni Preckwinkle  
Lawrence S Bloom  
John O Steele  
William M Beavers

WARD NUMBER

One  
Two  
Three  
Four  
Five  
Six  
Seven

Chicago City Council Aldermen, continued

Lorraine L. N. L.	Eight
Robert Shaw	Nine
John Buchanan	Ten
Patrick M. Huelo	Eleven
Mark J. Fary	Twelve
John S. Madrosyk	Thirteen
Edward M. Burke	Fourteen
Virgil E. Jones	Fifteen
Shirley Coleman	Sixteen
Allan J. Jester	Seventeen
Thomas Murphy	Eighteen
Ginger Pugh	Nineteen
Arenda Thompson	Twenty
Jesse J. Evans	Twenty-One
Ricardo Muniz	Twenty-Two
James J. Lacki	Twenty-Three
Jesse Miller	Twenty-Four
Ambrosio Medrano	Twenty-Five
Billy Ocasio	Twenty-Six
Dexter G. Watson	Twenty-Seven
Ed H. Smith	Twenty-Eight
Sam Burrell	Twenty-Nine
Carole Bialczak	Thirty
Ray Suarez	Thirty-One
Terry M. Gabinski	Thirty-Two
Richard F. Mell	Thirty-Three
Lemuel Austin, Jr.	Thirty-Four
Michael A. Wojcik	Thirty-Five
William J. P. Banks	Thirty-Six
Percy Giles	Thirty-Seven
Thomas W. Cullerton	Thirty-Eight
Anthony C. Laurino	Thirty-Nine
Patrick J. O'Connor	Forty
Brian Doherty	Forty-One
Burton F. Natarus	Forty-Two
Edwin W. Eisendrath	Forty-Three
Bernard J. Hansen	Forty-Four
Patrick J. Levar	Forty-Five
Helen Schiller	Forty-Six
Eugene C. Schalter	Forty-Seven
Mary Ann Smith	Forty-Eight
Joseph A. Moore	Forty-Nine
Bernard L. Stone	Fifty

According to Waas and Franks, "any deviations [in ward populations],...must be justified by the most compelling and

exacting of circumstances, such as respecting local boundaries, making [wards] compact, preserving the cores of existing districts, avoiding contests between incumbents, and preserving the voting strength of minorities. Any deviation must be explained, for even the slightest deviation from the largest to the smallest districts has been invalidated where the justifications were found to be constitutionally unacceptable," (p. 20).

In the case of Chicago's recent reapportionment effort, there were two maps presented within the City Council meetings. The first was supported by Mayor Daley and twenty-eight aldermen. This was designed to create twenty majority black wards, seven majority Hispanic wards, and twenty-three predominantly white wards. The name for this map was the "Equity Map" (Davis, p.6).

Similarly, nineteen aldermen which opposed the Daley-supported "Equity Map," proposed one of their own. It proposed the creation of twenty-two majority black wards, seven majority Hispanic wards, and twenty-one white wards. They entitled this the "Fair Map" (Chicago Tribune Editorial, p.18). Both maps allow for seven Hispanic majorities. But, because of the disparities regarding the numbers of blacks and whites, many critics have nicknamed these maps the "white" and "black" maps. The characteristics of each map's supporters are reflective of the racial differences and representative benefits which would result from the



particular map.

Both maps seem more concerned with securing the aldermanic positions of the incumbents, then they are to the concerns of the constituents which they represent. The constituents are being neglected, exploited, and drawn into a political tug-of-war, which has plagued Chicago politics since its beginnings. Aside from the racial characteristics of each map, the remap referenda was flawed from the very beginning. Please see Exhibit Five, taken from 13 March, 1992 Chicago Tribune.

Consider for a moment, that you are a Chicago resident, voting between one of the two proposed maps (as pictured above). Imagine poring over two hundred names of people running for political offices at every level of government. Finally, you arrive at the vote question, asking you to choose a new map. It is obvious that the remap question was not favorably placed on the referenda ballot, but this in no way relates to the amount of importance it has in city elections. If it was truly important, wouldn't the question have been closer to the top? Perhaps. Instead, it was located at the bottom; the last question on the ballot.

According to Robert Davis of the *Chicago Tribune*, the ballot question asked, "shall the ordinance proposed by the aldermen [inserted names] be adopted?" (p.6). The ballot sheet did not even present the proposed configurations for each sides map. No diagrams, no street names. If the two maps were included with the remap question, the individual voters would clearly see how they would be affected by the remap.

Alternately, the ballot offered each map according to the names of those aldermen which supported it. How confusing! In essence, if the voter has no negative opinions about the names on one particular list, he or she would probably choose that one. Similarly, if the voter was black, white, Hispanic, or other ethnic and the majority of names on a particular list are similar to one's own, a voter could

choose this map as well. Research has indicated that when individual voters are uninformed about candidates or ballot questions, they base their decisions on reactions to other details, such as name familiarity, relevance, and the ethnicity of the names on the ballot (Baron, et al, p.602). In an area as ethnically diverse as Chicago, the significant element to voting is an individual's ethnic orientation.

Since the Daley-supported "Equity Map" was the first to submit their proposal for filing, they had the advantage of top placement on the ballot. The first name which appeared beneath the Daley map's heading was that of "Carole Bialczak" of the 30th ward. The names following hers included Edward Burke, Terry Gabinski, and other Daley-ite's. Conversely, the lead name on the "Fair Map," was that of Alderman Ed Smith, of the 28th ward. Names which followed his included those of: Dorothy Tillman, Allan Streeter, and other well known members of Daley's opposition.

There are several important things to consider about the placement of supporters names on the ballot. An individual may choose to vote for a particular map based on whether or not they view the first name favorably. In this case, if the voter was African-American, they would most likely skim the names of those supporters on the "Fair Map," and elect that map as their choice. Similarly, if a voter was white, but opposed the practices of Carole Bialczak, they would most likely vote for the opposition map, as well.

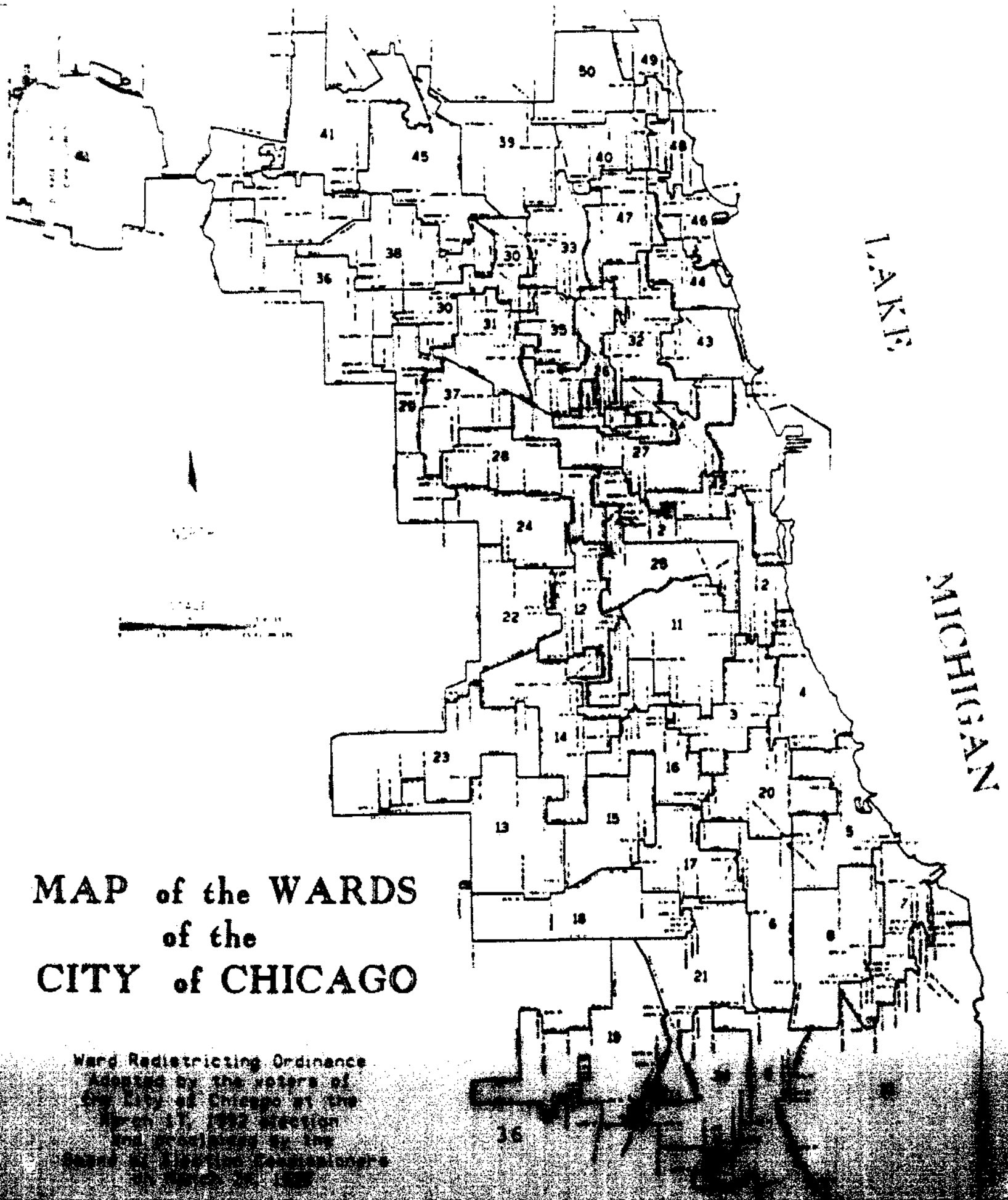
Incidentally, it appears that Bullock's name was chosen to lead off the list of pro-administration supporters because it is not synonymous with any major City Hall battles or controversial issues. The fact that her name is also obviously a white, ethnic name, may attract those voters of ethnic and white backgrounds.

Politicians employ strategies such as these all of the time. However, something that many voters often do not realize is that the map they choose to vote for will not only effect the future political career of their ward alderman, but it will also effect their own future political representation. The process which the voters are forced to participate in, does not fit into the American theme of Democracy. Yes, each person is entitled to their vote (one person, one vote), as established by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. But, in the case of the 1992 referendum, not all of the facts were presented; no maps or street names were supplied as supporting information. Thus, the presented evidence and positioning of the re-map question forces voters to make a choice based solely on name familiarity and the positive or negative qualities that he or she attributes to each individual.

According to an 18 March, 1992 article in The Chicago Tribune, the people of Chicago voted to adopt the Daley-backed "Equity Map" with over 60% of the vote. Please see **Exhibit AIX, from The Chicago Board of Elections.** But,

critics could argue that the victory was due to the structure of the question and its placement on the ballot. It is possible to claim that if the "Fair Map" was the first on the ballot, instead of the "Equity Map," it may have had better chances for success. In addition, if copies of the proposed maps were attached to the ballot question, then voters would have chosen the map which benefited that individual the most. Of course, this is what the opposition newspapers would like to have us believe. However, the proof is in the numbers, regardless of how unfair the ballot structure may have been. The voters made their choice. But, as a *Chicago Tribune* article points out, even the voters can be overruled by the power of the Federal Voting Rights Act (Davis, p. 18).

Exhibit Six:



MAP of the WARDS  
of the  
CITY of CHICAGO

Ward Redistricting Ordinance  
Adopted by the voters of  
the City of Chicago at the  
polls on 11, 1992 election  
and approved by the  
Board of Aldermen on 10, 1992

### Summary

The previous paragraphs have been an attempt to illustrate the differences between the Daley "Fair Map," and the opposition's "Equity Map." It has also examined the reapportionment process and the outcomes of the 17 March, 1992 city-wide referendum. Several suits are pending in court, in an attempt to challenge the 1991 remap on charges of discrimination, misrepresentation, and minority undercounts in 1990 Census figures.

The 1991 Chicago reapportionment pattern serves to exacerbate the problems of racial inequality, misrepresentation, and lack of political power amongst minorities. The wording of the remap question, its lack of visual aids, and its placement on the 17 March, 1992 referendum ballot also serves to further the racial and ethnic differences amongst the City's wards, by forcing voters into making a decision based on their familiarity with Chicago's Aldermen. Usually, the only aldermanic contact an individual has, is with their own representative.

Each map's boundary lines are drawn according to the ethnic characteristics of individual neighborhoods and the concentrations of minorities within a given geographic area. Map makers also draw the boundary lines so that they will benefit their supporting incumbents. This strategy does more to protect an alderman's job than it does to protect the people that alderman serves.



The conclusion which can be drawn from all of this information, is that changes in the reapportionment process have to occur before its result can become truly equal. But, even the voters cannot surpass the power of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Act also supplies the criteria by which map architects must adhere to in creating the configurations.

It is in examining these maps, that we can extract further evidence to the charges that the Daley map is unfair and inequitable. The supposed "Democratic" process which voters have engaged in, serve to further separate white from black. This remap may be just the motive that minority groups need to further their quest for fair representation and equal power in political activities.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965: Its Amendments and its Power:

The primary purpose of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was to re-enforce The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution. The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment requires one person, one vote, while the Fifteenth prohibits any discriminatory methods or procedures employed by anyone which would discriminate African-American's from the right to vote (Waas, p.20 & Regalado, p.377). Subsequent augmentations to the Voting Rights Act, especially Section 2 in 1982, have substantially extended protection to other minority groups, including Hispanics, Asians, and other ethnics.

In 1975, the Voting Rights Act established that any electoral changes affecting minorities, were to be filed with the Federal District Court or to the Attorney General's Office to ensure there would be no negative impacts against any minority groups, whether intentional or not (Kweit, p.65-67).

More importantly, the amendments to Section 2 in 1982, prohibits the imposition of any voting practice or process which would dilute the strength of any racial or ethnic minority. It also authorizes the filing of any lawsuit which challenges a remap plan based on voting dilution, regardless of intentional discrimination. Before the 1982 amendment, one had to prove discriminatory intent prior to filing a case, as a result of gerrymandered districts or at-large elections (Regalado, p.377)

At-large elections are considered to be an impediment to the election of ethnic and racial minority candidates. Usually, one minority's votes are not enough to elect a minority candidate, without white votes. If, however, the ward has a concentrated minority population, the minority candidate has a much better chance of election without white votes (Still, p.358-369).

The Supreme Court's first interpretation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act came under the Thornburg vs. Gingles case, 478 U.S. 30, from 1986. The court ruled that the plaintiff's remap case had to prove one of the following: "First, the minority group must be able to demonstrate that it is sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority in a single member district...Second, the minority group must be able to show that it is politically cohesive...Third, the minority must be able to demonstrate that the white majority votes sufficiently as a block to enable it...usually to defeat the minority's preferred candidate," (478 U.S. at 50-51)

Once these criteria have been established, the court must consider nine other factors in deciding whether a Section 2 violation has occurred (Waas, et al., p.23).

The Thornburg case ultimately shows that it is necessary to prove with empirical data, including: population, voting age, and minority statistics, the inequities of a particular map. For example, minority voting strength dilution. However, the strongest implication which can be drawn from this case, is that minority ethnic and racial wards must account for every minority. If the minority group can be drawn into another ward, where their influence can make a

difference in minority representation, then the map-makers must redraw the map to allow for the changes. In other words, when there exists a minority ethnic or racial population within a given ward, which does not constitute a majority of a ward population, the map architects must redraw the boundary lines to maximize the influence of the minority group's influence (Butler, et al., p.622-641).

This mobilization of racial and ethnic minorities into the voting process can strongly affect the outcome of reapportionment in the City of Chicago. This is because the drawing of boundary lines is determined by the numbers of citizens within a given space. Minority mobilization was one of several outcomes of the Civil Rights Movement and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which changed the composition of registered voters in urban areas across the United States. If the numbers of registered voters increases drastically within one minority population, then the potential for actual voter turn-out may increase, as well. Thus, the more minority voters which turn out at the polls during a given election, may determine or significantly influence the outcome of the election.

Take for example the 1983 Mayoral election of Harold Washington, where voter turn-out was counted at 80.1% of the black population, nearly equalling the white vote at 80.2% (CUL/NIU, p.63). This is a significant factor if we look at Chicago's total voter turn-out statistics, where the African-

American vote trailed by exactly 10% for the Presidential election, according to *Chicago Politics: 1990* (p.63).

However, after the death of Mayor Washington, the turnout of African-American voters has continued to drop significantly. For the 1989 Mayoral election, black turnout was recorded at only 59.2%, as compared to a 72.7% turnout by white voters (*ibid.*, p.63). The effects of not having an organized or mobilized minority force at the polls can be seen in the 1991 Chicago remap effort.

A 19 March, 1992 article in *The Chicago Tribune*, claims that voters in both white and black wards selected the Daley map by "ratios as high as 10:1 and even higher" (p.8). And, that the heavy voter turnout in the white wards versus the smaller turnout in black wards, was the major reason why a 60% majority selected the "Equity Map" over the "Fair" one (*ibid.*) However, a case was filed in protest to the election results by the nineteen aldermen which supported the "Fair Map," (*ibid.*, p.1). The Voting Rights Act prohibits the discrimination against any minority groups, whether intentional or not. If sufficient evidence is found, then the Federal court may order the special elections of those wards in question.

According to Arturo Jauregui, legal counsel for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), the 1991 remap is in violation of the Voting Rights Act. He said that he intends to ask the court to order special

elections in those wards where substantial minority growth changes have taken place. He continued to state that Hispanics were undercounted by approximately 5% nationwide, translating into large numbers of uncounted Hispanics in the City of Chicago. Under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, litigation may proceed if there exists sufficient evidence of undercounted census figures in the remap process.

Between 1981 and 1991, there was about a 30% increase in the Hispanic population, accounting for approximately 20% of the city's total population. As it stands, the Daley Map has appropriated seven Hispanic majority wards, an increase from the four seats of Hispanic representation prior to the referendum. Any gains that might be made in this remap round of litigation would be the result of demographic changes.

In Chicago, the recent reapportionment efforts have focused on African-American and Hispanic minorities. If one looks at the two maps, they can see the segregated lines of distribution, to which each party adheres. According to a Chicago Tribune article from 6 February, 1992, both sides have stated that they want race to be a "non-issue" in the remap process (p.2). The Daley map was designed to benefit its supporters, by securing their jobs within adjustable boundary lines just as the opposition map was designed to benefit its loyal backers.

### Summary:

Regardless of the Daley-side victory in the remap struggle, it still has to win the approval of the courts. Both maps serve as evidence to the racial polarization and the legalized gerrymandering which politicians exercise within the full limits of the law. Even though the predominance of the Democratic Party amongst Chicago aldermen excuses the pressure one may normally be exposed to in other forms of legislative redistricting, it does not reduce the amount of pressure that an individual politician may feel if the ward adjacent to theirs has the potential to encroach upon his or her own ward's turf. Therefore, in instances such as these, the varying map proposals serve to protect the geo-political boundaries and representation of the constituents, as well as the jobs of the city-ward aldermen.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 serves as a protective promise to minorities, assuring their participation in politics. The previous pages have illustrated how this Act effects the map-making process. It is the single most important criterion that map-makers must adhere to in the reapportionment effort, because it protects minority vote concentrations in geographic areas and prohibits any discriminatory voting practices, regardless of intent.

This section has analyzed the Supreme Court's first interpretation of The Voting Rights Act, as amended, in the *Thorngurg vs. Gingles* case of 1986. The strongest

implication which can be drawn from the decision in this case involves the idea of representation in minority wards. The voting strength of any minority group must be maximized as much as possible in any area. This may require the drawing of new boundary lines to include the minority area of one ward in another where their minority group maintains a majority presence. But, it will maximize the political power of a single minority group within a specific area, and provide enough voter support to elect a minority representative. The Voting Rights Act also outlines the criterion a minority must follow in order for their challenge to have its "day in court."

The final aspect of this section looks at increases in the African-American and Hispanic populations. When their numbers are miscalculated, their representation is equally diminished. The information gathered from Arturo Jauregui on undercounted Census figures and subsequent map boundaries, lends fuel to the argument that Hispanics are under-represented. The current map's allowance for seven wards is simply inadequate. Similarly, the African-American population accounts for nearly half of the total population in Chicago. Yet, they are only represented in twenty wards.

The only changes in minority representation can come as a result of the Court's ruling in individual cases. However, according to Arturo Jauregui and Peter Creticos, the cases which both minority factions have filed, should be heard and



tried sometime during the summer of 1965; which represents an entire year without proper minority representation in Chicago's City Council.

The next section will illustrate the characteristics of Chicago's wards, as well as explain the methods and criterion which map-makers adhere to in the creation of a reapportionment map.

### Characteristics of Chicago Wards

Today, Chicago is an urban "stew" of multi-racial and multi-ethnic backgrounds. Areas are very concentrated with a single ethnic or racial groups which have similarly concentrated political interests, views and opinions. As these respective concentrations grow, population and age become the two most important factors in determining how many people are eligible to vote at any given election. By looking at past concentrations of minorities within the ward configurations detailed by the 1985 court ruling, we can compare the differences to those boundary lines that were redrawn by the 1991 Daley proposal.

According to an atlas produced by the Chicago Urban League and Northern Illinois University, Chicago's fifty city wards are sorted into nine groups based on the voting trends, demographics, and geography of the wards areas (C.P., p.6). Please keep in mind that there has been changes to the information which the aforementioned book has stated. However, the boundary lines and minority characteristics are for the most part, similar to those proposed by the 1991 Daley remap. It is also important to remember that the voter-chosen Daley map is presently in the process of litigation. Those wards which may be significantly changed are noted where necessary. Please refer to Exhibit Three, p. 16 for further details.

According to *Chicago Politics: 1990*, these nine ward

groups consist of the following:

1. The White Southside, which includes the: 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 19th, and 23rd wards.
2. The White Northwest, which includes the: 30th, 35th, 36th, 28th, 41st, and 45th wards.
  - \*The "Equity Map" allows for 23 white wards, while the "Fair Map" allows for 21.
  - \*\*Together, these ward groups account for 27% of Chicago's voting age population.
3. The Black Southside, which includes the: 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 20th, 21st, and 34th wards.
4. The Black Westside, which includes the: 24th, 27th, 28th, 29th, and 37th wards.
  - \*The "Equity Map" has increased the Black communities share by one ward, while the "Fair Map" increases the black communities by three.
  - \*\*Together, these two ward groups account for 39% of Chicago's voting age population.
5. The Hispanic wards, which include the 32nd, 25th, 26th, and 31st wards.
  - \*Three additional Hispanic wards have been allotted by both maps.
  - \*\*Together, these ward groups account for 7% of Chicago's voting age population.
6. The inner lakefront wards include the: 32nd, 33rd, 40th, 47th, and 50th wards.
7. The Lakeshore wards, which include the: 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 46th, 48th, and 49th wards.
  - \*these populations are more diverse than in any other wards.
  - \*\*Together, these ward groups account for 23% of Chicago's voting age population.
- 8 & 9. These consist of the: 1st and 18th wards, which do not fit into any of the above categories.
  - \*The black Southside is the ward group with the largest number of voting age population.

\*\*\*The above information is contained within the CUL/NIU Atlas on Chicago Politics:1990.

Thus, any reapportionment plan which saves incumbent seats, is based on political expediency or compromise, and susceptible to public rejection. According to Peter Creticos, from the Illinois Department of Commerce and

Community Affairs (DCCA) the city's remap was drawn by and large, according to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This was supposed to insure African-American and Hispanic representation within their respective geographic areas. The outcome of the various court cases revolving around the 1991 redistricting effort (meaning success or failure) will largely depend upon the adherence of the Daley map to those criteria outlined in the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and its subsequent amendments and alterations.

A second measure which map architects adhere to, are those population and growth statistics furnished by the 1990 Census. According to the Chicago Urban League and Northern Illinois University, the calculated population estimate for Chicago in 1990 was 2,195,328. This was a pretty fair estimate. According to the 1990 Census data, the City of Chicago accounts for 2,783,726 people. The total population for Cook County was 5,105,067 (p.724). Whites constitute the largest amount of this figure, totaling 1,263,524. Likewise, African-American's comprise 1,087,711. And, Hispanics (of any race) constitute 545,852, but this does not include the thousands of unnaturalized citizens, or those that are here as illegal aliens. For the current Chicago ward map and each wards respective aldermen, please see Exhibit Six & Four, respectively.

After these two important factors are included, the process moves into the political stages, by accomodating

incumbents on a party basis. Likewise, in this case, accommodations were made according to the map benefitting the Daley supporters, or those which support the opposition. Critics continued to say that neither side should go out of their way to draw an incumbent into a certain district, because the purpose [of reapportionment] is to expand those wards with growing concentrations of a particular minority population, and redraw the lines of those receding districts to accomodate those constituents.

Overall, on the Southwest side of the city, ward boundary lines were redrawn to include an increasing number of Hispanics. Mostly because a large proportion of the people in this area are non-citizen Mexicans. As the population of the Hispanic community continues to grow, their representation will become more evident in future elections. The future Census of 2000 should serve to validate this theory because the differences between the 1980 and the 1990 Census' already serves as proof of the growing numbers of Hispanics in the City of Chicago, as well as the State of Illinois.

The coalitions which may be built as a result of interactions between minorities, and the consequences that their concentrations may have on future reapportionment, can be illustrated by examining the individual minority groups. The Hispanic population is made up of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Cubans. Historically, Cubans have strongly

supported the Republican party, while the other two have been split depending upon their socio-economic status. African-American's tend to favor the Democratic party, as well. But, the emergence of the Washington party by Alderman Timothy Evans, adds a third element to the city's political composition.

Politics in the City of Chicago has historically equated the power of one individual or group over another. Elections and the exercising of one's vote, is the culmination of any form of an individual's political participation. However, as the face of government changes nationwide, the right to vote is no longer a voice for representation, but a symbolic message of a minority versus majority struggle for power amongst individuals.

According to MALDEF's Arturo Jauregui, African-American's and Hispanics have not been able to get along in the recent negotiating sessions regarding ward reapportionment. After 1991, there was quite a bit of disagreement over the supposedly "equal" representation between wards amongst the various ethnic and racial communities in Chicago. Both African-American's and Hispanics have felt left out and unrepresented by the recent political remap. In particular, African-American's feel that the Hispanics have been the recipients of the "fruits" of the labor which blacks have been trying to achieve for the past two centuries.

Peter Creticos of DCCA, notices the disparity as well, noting that Hispanics have struggled for representation and empowerment for less than twenty-five years, while the black struggle for racial equality has elapsed for a period of at least two hundred years. The relevance of this information enhances the argument as to why minorities cannot cooperate. Both groups have similar goals which they want to obtain. However, one side at any particular point, has felt victimized, while the other simultaneously feels that they have received what they justly deserve. This lack of cooperation or combined efforts could be the factor which prevents minorities from achieving any political advantages within Chicago power politics.

These sorts of disparities have been the single most detrimental factor in race relations between minority groups throughout history. But, when minorities do come together for a common goal, the benefits are evident. Take for example, the Mayoral election of 1983. Mayor Washington was elected largely by the black vote. But, the contest was truly won with the help of Hispanic community, whose votes acted as the "swing" in the election. It was under the Washington regime that Hispanics achieved their first aldermanic wards.

If one looks at the differences between the revised 1981 map and the current map which was chosen by the electorate in 1992, one can see exactly how the configurations have

changed. Of particular notice are those wards which have expanded tremendously on the South, Southwest, and Southeast side of the City due to minority population increases. These areas also have the largest concentrations of Hispanic and African-American minorities.

If these populations continue to expand, then the future Census and subsequent reapportionment will reflect the significant population and registration changes. If the Hispanic and African-American communities continue to grow at the rates which they have in the past and the numbers of whites continues to decrease, it is by all means possible for minorities to elect a new Mayor and change the power structure of Chicago.

The actual ward outlines will not be the only visible change. The 1992 Presidential Election resulted in one of the largest voter turnout's in history. If this trend continues, and massive voter registration and naturalization drives take place, the significant numbers turning out at the polls could potentially affect Chicago's political future.

Past evidence from the massive voter registration efforts of low-income African-American's in the 1983 Mayoral election, proves even further, that mobilization can change the numbers in an election. The Hispanic community country-wide, already has a population of more than four million legal residents, which are not yet even legal citizens (Pachon, p.88). This fact alone gives fuel to the hidden



forces of Hispanic influence and potential empowerment in the future.

In trying to form a conclusion as to why minorities have suddenly taken an interest in the political ward configurations, it is important to recognize that no one will benefit unless groups can come together and cooperate on issues that will benefit the majority. In Chicago, as the entire power structure appears to change from a dominant white upper-hand, to more of a mix amongst all races, the need "to get along," becomes even more prevalent then ever before. Meaning that in the past, minority groups have not been able to settle their differences long enough to reach a compromise that would benefit both factions. The struggle for representation under the 1992 map, may give minorities more wards and thus, more power. This power could then lead the representation of minority interests, and pave the way for minority cooperation.

Many selfish and racist actions enter the picture on an issue as important as reapportionment, but none can be more simpler in theory than cooperation.

While the issue of reapportionment becomes an increasingly racial issue for politicians, the struggle for minority representation gets thrown to the wayside as boundaries for one's own "turf" takes precedence over other important issues. This forms part of the reasoning behind why the various minority groups have made their marks in the

political battlefield. African-American's and Hispanics have filed suits against the 1991 remap because they feel that it misrepresents their true political strengths.

In addition, as was stated earlier, the 1991 remap will set the stage for future political action and representation. In examining Chicago's political history and its uncertain future, it is also important to consider the quality of minority representation. Are black and Hispanic aldermen really a source of empowerment for their respective minorities, or are they in office as career politicians with other goals in mind? Does reapportionment truly guarantee representation?

Gabriel Lopez, executive director of the Illinois Hispanic Democratic Council, cites the huge efforts of voter registration as one reason why ethnic and minority groups have suddenly become so excited about putting "one of their own" in the running for a political office (Galvan, p.32). Still others such as Steve Gonzalez, a student at Trinity College, CT., see the culmination of minority representation as the natural outcome of years' worth of struggle and hard, concerted effort and determination.

As *Chicago Politics* states it, "Chicago is at the point where slight variations in mobilization efforts can determine whether whites are a majority or a minority of the city's registered electorate," (CUL/NIU, p.18) If minority groups take notice of the diminishing strength of the white vote,

which evidence proves they have, then who is to say that by the time the Census of 2000 rolls around, that these "minority groups" will not become the majority, leaving whites as a minority faction. Thus, the only remedy which appears to help any given minority group is the mobilization and voter registration efforts. Needless to say, mass mobilization and minority organization amongst the City's ethnic groups is contingent upon cooperation. And, unfortunately this has not been particularly successful in the past. However, by electing representatives from within a coalition, the odds that the minority's interests will be represented are more likely than if the contest was between two minorities.

Therefore, now is the time for minority groups to take action, defend what little representation they have, and continue the racial and ethnic struggle for political equality and empowerment. If the remap procedures do not change to allow for fairer and more equitable maps, then the people will have to take their own actions to assure their political freedoms.

#### Summary

The idea of representative democracy is an important factor in considering the future implications of the 1991 Chicago remap. If one looks at the differences between the 1970 map, the revised 1981 map and the current map chosen by the electorate in 1992, one can see exactly how the

configurations have changed. To compare these maps, please see Exhibit's One, Two and Six.

Of particular notice are those wards which have expanded tremendously on the South, Southwest, and Southeast sides of the City due to minority population increases. These areas also have the largest concentrations of Hispanic and African-American minorities.

Past elections have proven the capabilities which minorities possess to change the hands of power. Take for example, the 1983 election of Mayor Harold Washington. Disenchanted sectors of the electorate formed a coalition for change, and consequently elected the first African-American Mayor in Chicago's history.

Further, if these minority populations continue to expand as they have, then the future Census and subsequent reapportionment will reflect the significant population and registration changes. If the Hispanic and African-American communities continue to grow at the rates which they have in the past and the numbers of whites continue to decrease, it is by all means possible for minorities to elect a Mayor "of their own," once again and thus, change the power structure of Chicago.

### Changes in the Reapportionment Process:

Reapportionment is one of the most controversial, not to mention, one of the most difficult issues to ever cross racial, ethnic, and political battlefields. Perhaps this is because so much is at stake. As mentioned earlier, the decennial census and reapportionment efforts create a political environment, which sets the stage for political action for ten years. Aside from this, the remap is supposed to provide substantial equality of various populations across a given area, creating both neighborhoods and ghettos. However, as we approach the year 2000, the focus of redistricting will place heavier importance upon minority power structures and the shifting boundary positions within Chicago's city wards.

Future remap efforts will have to consider minority interests, financial costs, and become legally responsible. The following pages will illustrate many problems in the reapportionment process and the effects that future procedural changes could make in the city council's structure.

In wondering what the future of Chicago politics will hold, we must consider problems with the current reapportionment procedures. Some of these problems include: the financial costs, minority group representation and misrepresentation, time constraints, and the lacking legal responsibilities in past redistricting efforts. The final



problem which deals with ethics is a fundamental element of both politics and reapportionment procedures.

As architects, map-makers cannot go out of their way to draw incumbents out of their respective wards. Similarly, they cannot draw boundary lines which restrict minority participation or prohibit the possible election of a minority leader, as outlined in The Voting Rights Act. At its base, the entire redistricting process is inefficient, costly, and time consuming. But, what other choice is there?

An article in the July, 1989 issue of *The Hastings Law Journal*, regarding past court decisions on minority representation, suggests that minorities are misrepresented when remap boundaries are gerrymandered. The article states that, "the court must recognize that a [minority] group is shut out of the political process when it loses the power to elect a representative of its choice over a prolonged period of time as a result of the manipulation of legislative district boundaries." (p. 1092).

If minorities are unrepresented or underrepresented, then legislative action cannot possibly reflect the voter's interests. As Tracy Kasson writes, aside from sheer inefficiency, the current process of reapportionment serves to "pollute" our voting system, as well as "a voter's opportunity to immediately influence public policy through the election of a representative." (p. 686). The best example can be taken from the 1983 Mayoral Election.

As illustrated earlier, Washington was victorious because 40% of Chicago's population was African-American. Since this election was based on the plurality of city-wide votes, gerrymandered wards could not have kept Washington from this victory. However, "the gerrymandered 1980 city map" prevented Washington allies from controlling the City Council (Kasson, p.687).

Gerrymandering serves to undermine minority interests. The aldermanic maps which result from gerrymandering, provide minorities with improper representation by diluting the votes of the particular racial or ethnic concentration.

Theoretically, the remap process seems simple: compromise about 57,000 people into each of Chicago's fifty wards. However, the difficulty lies in attempting to make minority populations a majority in as many wards as possible. Even further difficulty surfaces when aldermen try to reach compromises about the ethnic and racial wards. This is because the configurations of certain wards often force aldermen to relinquish valuable parts of their ward's electorate, to other neighboring wards, where minority concentrations continue to grow. Simultaneously, the map-makers must try to appease the minorities, save aldermanic seats for incumbents, and adhere to the laws of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its amendments. In a city that is as ethnically and racially cleaved as Chicago, reapportionment becomes the ultimate game of give and take.



Therefore, future remap efforts should consider the short-term effects and the misrepresentation which occurs when people are unfairly represented. Misrepresentation refers to the situation that minorities find themselves in, when a reapportionment process does not equally justify the minority population into wards where their interests should be represented. When this happens, the time lost in creating fair public policy results in chaotic appeals for change and thousands of unhappy voters. In this instance, no one is happy; aldermen lose their jobs, voters lose their representation, and legislation is unfair to minorities.

The only remedy to the reapportionment drama is to create a more organized process, whereby map-makers completely disregard incumbent wards. Instead, these architects should draw ward boundaries according to the population, and the ethnic and minority concentrations from the data supplied by the Federal Census. With the reduction of partisan biases entering the reapportionment process, substantially equal wards would be created for the respective populations.

In addition, minority populations need to learn how to cooperate in a manner that will be conducive to the organization and mass mobilization of their factions. This would elicit larger populations to guarantee the election of a minority representative and prevent the possibility of a legal challenge. A reduction in legal challenges would also



reduce the cost to taxpayers.

Another aspect of the reapportionment process calls for a change in the legal process. Oftentimes, the inefficiency of the court system can add to the exacerbation of minority misrepresentation. If a case regarding minority discrimination in the reapportionment process is brought before court, then every effort should be made to assure expediency in the legal process.

As was evident in the 1981 Chicago remap case, it took four years to finally settle upon a map which satisfied all sides. The 1991 remap has proven to be equally problematic. Here it is, May, 1993, and all that can be said about the 1991 remap effort is that it is a holding pattern. This issue is most likely to be resolved by this coming summer, but the chances of the map's boundaries changing to benefit minority factions are pretty slim.

#### Summary

The Federal Census is conducted so that the government can determine the increases in population and the concentrated areas in which they live. This information is then relayed to redistricting officials, who in turn, create the configurations which affect our political participation.

However, when maps are drawn to dilute the strength of a minority group, the power and influence they have in local politics is diminished. If minority power is reduced, so

then is the representation of their particular interests. This not only contradicts the legal requirements outlined in the Voting Rights Act, but it also goes against all ideas of fairness and due process in a democratic political society.

This section has pointed out certain problems with the reapportionment process and areas which need to be altered. When the partisan map-makers create wards which undermine minorities, then they are asking for a challenge. But, this facet can be removed if the reapportionment process is changed to figure ward boundaries regarding only population data and minority concentrations. This would not only provide for better minority representation, but it would also save American taxpayers millions of dollars in unnecessary court costs.

### Concluding Remarks:

It is difficult when writing any paper on race and ethnicity, to try and not present oneself as racist in any form. This research paper has been written as objectively as possible, by collecting a wide array of published materials, interviews, and opinions from all sides. The purpose of this research was to scrutinize the 1991 Chicago reapportionment effort and gain an inside look into the nature of Chicago politics.

This research has specifically questioned how minority influences have influenced Chicago politics, and how their collective influences can further change elections and the way business is conducted. Politics here seem to be decided upon racial lines, as exemplified in both the 1981 and 1991 remap efforts and the 1983 election between Harold Washington and then Mayor, Jane Byrne. Thus, this thesis also seeks to explain how Chicago's political system has become so racially polarized. Minority political trouble has been evident in U.S. politics since its beginning. The roots of misrepresentation and unequal empowerment are not found in Chicago politics, but its effects are felt here.

This paper began with a brief chronological history of Chicago politics between 1980 and 1990. This decade was the first in many, when a machine politician was not in control. However, the residue of Mayor Richard J. Daley's patronage system provided an unstable environment for minority groups.

The voters which elected Mayor Jane Byrne into office, did so because they believed she would provide a different kind of leadership. But, in reality, she turned a deaf ear to minority interests, in order to further those of the white majority.

However, those that elected Mayor Byrne became enraged by her "racist" actions, and sought the election of a Mayor that could lead them to the equality that they deserved. In 1983, a coalition of African-American's, Hispanics, and liberal white lake-fronters elected Chicago's first black mayor, Harold Washington.

The Washington-Byrne race for mayor, and its consequent election, served to illustrate the racially polarized nature of Chicago politics. Washington earned nearly all of the votes cast by African-American's, while Byrne received the majority of White votes. This election provides evidence to the white and black distinctions which serve to keep Chicago segregated by race.

Washington's administration promised to provide a "fair and open" form of government, to provide for the integration of minority groups into Chicago's political structure. Under his administration, the Hispanic community achieved their first aldermanic wards, and blacks increased their representation. This is also due to an increase in voter registration. But, overall, Harold Washington was a minority Mayor, which served to further the interests of minorities.

After Mayor Washington's death, Eugene Sawyer was selected to replace him as Acting Mayor. However, after he finished the term, the coalition which initially elected Washington, attempted to further his legacy by running a candidate of their own for Mayor. Timothy Evans, running under the Washington banner lost the 1989 election for Mayor to Richard M. Daley, an individual with no experience in municipal government.

Daley's election again served to exemplify the racial divisions of Chicago, but his administration was also about to face a reapportionment process which would decide the fate of minority political interests for the ensuing decade. But, as seen in this paper, minority interests are not necessarily accounted for. In fact, if minority lawyers had their way, the numbers of Hispanic and African-American wards would be increased. But, the possibilities of this happening are fairly small, since the Daley-supported "Equity Map" was selected by a majority of voters to replace the configurations of the amended 1986 map.

Minority groups have pursued legal challenges, citing discrimination and incorrect Census data as sources for the maps underrepresentation of minorities. Under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and its amendments, minorities have the right to challenge a remap, as long as they adhere to the criterion stated within the Act.

Similarly, those map architects, which create the ward

configurations, must also comply with the Voting Rights Act. In drawing boundary lines, they must allow for majority wards of ethnic and racial populations wherever possible. Meaning that if a given area is concentrated with a large amount of minorities, the boundaries must be manipulated to afford that group the benefit of electing a representative of their "own."

These sorts of incidents then allow for proper representation of minority interests. But, oftentimes this is not the situation, and minorities are discriminated against when public policy is created. Because eventhough it directly affects them, it may not necessarily reflect their interests if those in power are not proportional to the ethnic and racial concentrations which they were elected to represent.

One section of this paper allows for changes to the reapportionment process, which would make both the creation and any consequential legal challenges more efficient and expedient. The suggestion has been made to reduce the reapportionment process to drawing ward boundaries based on population data and minority concentrations. This would then give minority groups the benefit of fair and equal wards and the direct political representation resulting from their respective boundaries.

Chicago wards are transitory by nature. Some ward populations expand while others decrease. But, the purpose



of reapportionment is to equalize the power differentials caused by these population changes. By redrawing the lines of neighborhoods according to population demographics and the ethnic or racial characteristics of the population, minorities should be properly represented. But, as this paper has revealed, this is not always the case. The future of Chicago politics is reliant upon two things: one, where ward boundary lines are drawn, and two, how minority groups perceive their roles in Chicago politics. If minority groups concentrate their collective numbers into a single coalition, it is evident that their votes can make a difference. The 1983 mayoral election of Harold Washington is an example of this. If groups continue to mobilize their collective numbers and select prospective politicians from their "pool," they are then almost assured that policy proposals will work to their advantage. And perhaps, their collective forces can elect another minority Mayor, which would assure the representation of their collective interests. Despite all of the white political actions which have attempted to counter and restrain minority interests, Chicago's racial and ethnic communities have made a remarkable contribution to the city, and continue to struggle for further representation and empowerment.

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